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Bundestag members to get 'hip' daily

'TODAY IN PARLIAMENT' - AN AID TO UNDERSTANDING

It took in all twenty-one years for "hip" to come. Right on its twenty-first birthday the child is being given its baptism in Bonn.

What is "hip"? The answer is the initial letters of "heute im Parlament" (Today in Parliament) a daily newsletter for members of the Bundestag and journalists giving them a detailed résumé of what has been going on in the house.

"Even the most industrious and diligent parliament cannot expect to receive its due quota of attention and respect if it does not do everything in its power to put itself in the public eye and describe its activities to the public," said Kai Uwe von Hassel.

For five legislative periods there have been means that the Bundestag's work was not receiving enough attention from the public and that the man in the street did not understand what was going on in the Bundestag.

Kai-Uwe von Hassel, the Bundestag President, expressed his concern at the lack of a Bundestag newsletter at a meeting of the Federal Republic Newspaper Industry Employer's Association a few weeks ago and welcomed the advent of "hip".

At long last all is ready, after the usual preparatory work and run-in, for the Bundestag's first public relations hand-out, the first issue of which will appear in the second year of the sixth legislative period, beginning on 15 September.

In this age where public relations work is all the rage it is scarcely credible that for twenty years one single Bundestag official was responsible for the entire public relations work of the house. The annual budget was around 200,000 Marks.

Now there are ten officials and civil servants on the job. Most of them have a background in straightforward reporting and journalism.

They will have around one million Marks at their disposal this year and probably twice as much next year. Nevertheless this is small by ministerial standards since most ministries and government offices employ at least one hundred people.

Here are some comparative figures. The expenditure on public relations work in the press and information office, in the individual ministries and in the Federal Headquarters for political training totals 138.2 million Marks each year, which is quite an impressive sum.

The four editors of the *Parlament-Korrespondenz* department have been showing off their "dry-run" issue of "hip" to people interested with some pride. Meanwhile the two men on the public relations side have not been idle. They are preparing a series of films and recorded tapes for schools (it is stressed that these will be stripped of any political comment or leanings).

In addition to this they are preparing a number of printed handouts, conducting an extensive survey into the sort of image that members of the Bundestag project and are organising a photography contest.

Already they have completed a twenty minute film for visitors to the Bundestag to see. It is entitled "Sieben Stunden in der Woche..." (Seven hours a week). This film is designed to show the work of the Bundestag.

In fact this has met with such approval from members of the house that a number of them have disregarded the cost - 300 Marks - and bought a copy of the film to show in their own constituencies.

The favourite theme of the two-man team at present is the visitors gallery in the Bundestag. The current annual attendance figure of 150,000 is to be increased next year by approximately 35 per cent to about 200,000 interested and curious people.

They have worked out a programme whereby visitors would not just sit in the gallery but would be able to go on a guided tour round the building with ten guides and attend plenary meetings, or at least view the plenary chamber. They would also be able to meet deputies or their representatives and find out what they want to know from them about the working of government and opposition.

With this in mind reconstruction is going on at present to the chamber in which the parliamentary defence committee has previously held its talks.

One gimmick that should help boost the public relations work: every visitor will receive as a free memento a bronze badge, the size of a five Mark piece depicting in black and red the eagle symbol of the Federal Republic.

This will cost 49 Pfennigs to produce. There is a third team which will cover daily routine work and be available to give detailed information on the workings of the Bundestag, but one of its most important tasks will be to keep in contact with the press, radio and television.

The new men will have to turn their attention in the other direction as well.

It will be responsible for general hand-outs to the press and Kai-Uwe von Hassel (CDU) is quick to stress that all statements will be non-party-political. "Our work will be along the same lines as a news agency," he said.

These latest steps will mean that for the first time there will be accurate and detailed pen pictures of individual deputies in circulation.

Not only will they be instructing public on the ways of the Bundestag, means of radio and television, but they will have to instruct deputies in ways of radio and television so that can improve their "TV image".

In the next few weeks members' house will be sent the new editing brochure entitled *Vor Kamera und fern - kleiner Ratgeber für Bundestagler* (In front of the camera microphones - a small guide for TV radio broadcasting).

This guide will give deputies an idea of how to talk, what facial expressions to employ and how to dress.

To help members with their appearances cameras have been set up in the Bundestag with monitors so deputies can watch themselves and rehearse at their leisure.

Although the first edition of the guide has not yet appeared it has already attracted the attention of Scandinavian and they are keen to hear of experiences of the public relations in the Bundestag.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 September)

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help end or at least contain the Middle East crisis, as is the declared aim of American policy, one may well ask. Practical considerations add weight to these doubts. In an international crisis not even the most up-to-date and efficient means of communication the President undoubtedly has at his disposal can be a satisfactory substitute for his actual presence in the White House, where his principal political and military advisers are continually on hand for detailed discussions.

Even though the situation in Jordan has calmed down somewhat President Nixon's second visit to Europe, mainly to the Mediterranean this time, has a dramatic note that could hardly have been foreseen when the tour was at the planning stage.

The head of government and commander-in-chief of one of the two superpowers landed in an area of high political and military pressure overcast by the possibility of confrontation with the other, a possibility that can never be ruled out in the region in question.

"For the rivalries and interests of the Great Powers themselves represent a second dimension in the Middle East conflict," none other than Mr Nixon himself warned in his foreign policy message to Congress last February.

The President could hardly have underlined the political significance of the most powerful force by far in the Mediterranean than by visiting the Sixth Fleet and spending the night on board the Saratoga.

Is such dramatisation of what in any case is a highly tense situation likely to

President Nixon shows the flag on Nato's southern flank

Thought will obviously have been given to the pros and cons in Washington too, though, and if the President and his advisers decided against postponing the Mediterranean tour it can only have been because of anxiety lest world opinion rate the decision a political retreat and evasion of the heavy responsibility incumbent on the United States in the area.

The decision to travel after all is obviously intended by Washington to demonstrate the steadfastness of American policy. The presence of the US President in person is intended to prove that America does not shirk responsibility at a time of crisis.

Whatever view may be held of Mr Nixon visiting the Mediterranean at the height of the crisis there are good enough reasons why the President decided prior to the latest developments in Jordan to demonstrate America's interest in Europe by visiting the Med.

This is the region in which the power situation has changed most to America's disadvantage of late and so to the disadvantage of its European allies.

At the two other points of direct contact between the two world powers, Berlin and the Eastern frontier of this country, the situation has for some time been relatively stable. In the Mediterranean on the other hand the Soviet Union and the United States have moved in on one another to such an extent that they can be said directly to confront one another.

Until the mid-sixties the Mediterranean was an American sea, a permanent harbour for the Sixth Fleet, which was and is a fundamental part of America's worldwide deterrent and assured the United States of a modicum of influence, albeit steadily declining, in the Middle East.

Jordan cease-fire may herald prospects of lasting peace in the Middle East

Many an order to cease fire has been given and disregarded as it is in the Jordanian civil war so no one would be surprised if the truce between King Hussein and Yassir Arafat were also to prove short-lived.

Even so, it could represent the beginnings of a change in Jordan - and not only in Jordan. Developments over the last few days have resulted in a political and military state of affairs in which an armistice would fit like a glove.

The King's troops have obviously gained the upper hand without, however, having eliminated the Palestinians as either a political or a military force. There was no full-scale intervention by Jordan's revolutionary neighbours - partly because of American and Israeli warnings



Myrdals awarded Peace Prize

This year's Frankfurt Peace Prize, awarded by the Booksellers Association, was presented to Gunnar and Alva Myrdal of Sweden at a recent ceremony in the city's historic Paulskirche attended by a host of celebrities, including President Heinemann. Gunnar Myrdal is a professor of economics who has spent many years in the United States. His wife Alva was, until recently, her country's Minister of Disarmament.

(Photo: dpa)

This convenient state of affairs has undergone a radical change, particularly since the Arab-Israeli war of June 1967.

The Soviet Union now also has a fleet permanently stationed in the Med and even though experts agree that it is still far inferior to its American rival in military terms its mere presence so drastically increases the risk of a clash between the two superpowers that it is of minor importance that the Soviet squadrons would come off worse as things stand.

The incalculable risk of military confrontation with the Soviet Union considerably reduced America's leeway and laid the groundwork for Soviet political and

(in Egypt's case) military infiltration of the Middle East.

President Nixon's visit to the Mediterranean is intended to make it clear to the Soviet Union that there are limits to what it can do too unless it is prepared to jeopardise its own security.

America's allies in Europe should welcome this gesture even though its timing remains problematic after the truce in Jordan because the situation in the Middle East remains tense.

The Mediterranean, when all is said and done, borders not only the Middle East but also the southern flank of Nato.

Fritz von Globig
(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG,
26 September 1970)

hardly be imagined shaking hands over the mountains of corpses in the foreseeable future.

The disappointment the Palestinians must feel at the failure of the Syrians, Iraqis, Egyptians and Russians to intervene on their behalf will alter their whole outlook. They might just as well think in terms of separate negotiations with the Israelis as develop into an even more extremist element in the Arab world.

The late President Nasser's star must certainly have sunk as far as the Arab revolutionaries are concerned.

Last but not least the world powers will be forced to reappraise their attitude towards the Arab-Israeli conflict. They were forced to look on as a fresh Middle East crisis raged and showed unmistakable signs of a common interest in putting a damper on the situation.

Is this the beginning of a Great Power condominium in the Middle East from which peace between Arabs and Israelis might emerge? (DIE WELT, 26 September 1970)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Communist China warms its hands at the Middle East fire

At present the only country that stands to benefit from the war in Jordan is China. For Peking conflict and anarchy in the Middle East represent the development of a new international revolutionary front and a fresh theatre in the struggle against the alleged conspiracy between Soviet revisionism and US imperialism.

This is why, after initial hesitation, the Chinese government has now officially come out in support of the Arab guerrillas in the Jordanian civil war regardless of either their political convictions or of President Nasser.

Up till the time when this decision was taken Peking had courted Egypt's favours and taken unmistakable pains not to attack President Nasser even though he owes his continued existence to military aid from China's arch-enemy, the Soviet Union, and approved of the Rogers Plan, viewed by China as a rank swindle on the part of the superpowers.

Right from the beginning of its new post-cultural revolution foreign policy China has banked on the Palestinian liberation movement, swiftly reactivating embassies in sympathetic Arab countries, according diplomatic recognition to a permanent mission from the liberation front, making propaganda and sending arms (via Albania) and Chinese military advisers.

In March Yasser Arafat, accorded a full-scale official welcome in Peking, confirmed the importance of Chinese aid and support. "It is," he said, "no secret that the first aid given to El Fatah, aid instrumental in launching the Palestinian revolution, came from China."

Arab extremists took to heart the

Quotations of Chairman Mao, Chinese transmitters broadcasting from Albania called on Arab listeners to fight and oppose all peaceful solutions.

At the beginning of August China lambasted the Rogers Plan as a "Middle East Munich plot selling out the interests of the Palestinian people."

Since March the 100-man Chinese embassy in Damascus has regularly been sending agitprop agents and military advisers disguised as journalists to Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan.

New China news agency goes into detail about the training undergone by refugee militia - "practical military training in the afternoon and study of the theory, strategy and tactics of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teachings on people's war in the evening."

Mao's teachings really do impress the partisans too. For many Arabs China's rise to world power status within a decade despite the burden of overpopulation typical of Africa and Asia is more relevant as a model than a saturated Soviet state born in 1917.

As all Asia is uninhibitedly race-conscious Peking's propaganda claim that Russian communism is the work of "white people with the same colour skins as the colonialists" will not have been without effect.

Above all, New China proclaimed on 17 September, "the freedom fighters grasp the profound truth that political power grows out of gun barrels."

Yet Peking has had no official comment to make about the first spectacular use of force by its disciples, the hijacking and blowing-up of four Western airliners.

In private talks Chinese communists have beaten about the bush - "A most complicated business, so emotional." Never a mention has been made of the fact that Dr Habache, leader of the guerrilla organisation responsible for the hijackings, was in North Korea at the time and presumably visited Peking either beforehand or subsequently.

This silence bears witness to a certain unease. Peking knows that although the fedayeen may represent a reliable revolutionary outpost they are by no means ideologically reliable.

Like the extremists of the New Left in this country they interpret Maoism according to their own requirements and not in disciplined accordance with the Peking line.

Peking could hardly fail to view the tension between moderate Muslim Arafat and Christian popular front fanatic Habache, who hopes to start a Third World War, as inconvenient objectivism and emotional adventurism.

This will be why Peking gave its delighted and wholehearted approval when, at the end of June, the squabbling factions agreed to set up a joint military and organisational leadership, a development that promised to make possible maximum revolutionary fighting power.

Chinese communism is used from its own fighting days to forging temporary alliances and Lenin level such tactics the seal of ideological approval. As in the case of Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia partners in the struggle do not need to toe the Peking line. There is plenty of time of bringing them to heel.

Peking's immediate aim is to counter Soviet regional strategy in the Middle

East, to involve the Americans in Vietnam-like complications there and create a generally revolutionary atmosphere.

China's designs are benefitting from glimmer of realisation in the Arab world that Moscow's military aid to Nasser is from altruistic, being intended to help Soviet Union gain overall control of the area.

The slightest conflict between Russia and America in the Middle East, one state of affairs that compels the two keep forces stationed in readiness, weakens the strategic position of the in the Far East and delays the advance the other.

Both the political geography of the Chinese advance in Africa and the world and the evident desire to limit the superpowers in future crises bear witness to China's efforts to lessen attack and encirclement potential.

Gaining time is essential. Each crisis of crisis in the Middle East brings the nearer to its overall strategic aim of achieving a nuclear stalemate, manufacturing intercontinental ballistic missiles of its own. Ulrich Grundh

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 September 1970)

Tito prepares to bow down

Josip Broz Tito, 78, uncontested ruler of a multinational state, has decided on a successor. In his stead a leadership collective with rotating chairmanship will hold the reins of government.

Tito has evidently succumbed to a temptation common to statesmen of his epoch-making importance to believe that he alone can handle the power that theirs and that imitators would come a cropper.

In Yugoslavia's case, though, this line of thought is less inappropriate than it might be in a number of other countries.

The country still has to overcome its congenital defects. There is still rivalry between Serbs and Croats, Macedonians and Slovenes. Differences in development between the various regions have still not been eliminated.

The personality of Tito, whose fame as a partisan leader was already legendary, served only to paper over these weaknesses, not to overcome them. A collective representing all nationalities obviously stands the best chance of succeeding with the task.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 September 1970)

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BUDGET

100-billion-Mark firework display in the Bundestag

Budget-day speeches in the Bundestag have not in previous years been a great annual occasion such as they day in May when the British Chancellor of the Exchequer raises his battered black briefcase for the crowds and the cameras and announces his financial plans for the coming year.

But this year the Bundestag saw some fireworks! With a highly temperamental speech Finance Minister Alex Möller introduced his budget plans for 1971 and defended them against vehement criticism which has in fact been raging for several weeks now at the prospect of government spending to the tune of one hundred thousand million Marks.

The atmosphere was already highly charged with the prospect of provincial assembly elections just around the corner. This culminated in the demonstration of the Opposition - a mass walk-out from the plenary chamber.

Möller defended himself most forcefully against accusations of inflationary planning and gave guarantees that the budget for 1971 would give no further steam to the succession of price rises that has been dogging this country for some time.

He has obviously made up his mind that he will not be swayed from his plans for government spending next year whatever the arguments against. The Finance Minister wants to raise one hundred thousand million Marks come what may.

With this in mind he rejected the suggestion put forward by the Opposition that he should divide the budget up into two sections with "definite require-

ments" on the one hand and "possible requirements" as a kind of stand-by on the other hand. The Opposition's idea was that the latter source should only be tapped if the state of our economy next year warranted it.

Now we know that actual expenditure will be as originally planned. Möller defended himself against accusations that a budget of one hundred thousand million was pure wantonness on the part of government departments.

The Minister said: "This budget is an expression of our desire to give the people of the Federal Republic at long last the public services they require." He added that there were a number of other weapons available for fighting the stabilisation policy battle.

According to the Finance Minister there was a lot of ground to be made up in building roads, schools and hospitals, in research and in other essential sectors of our economic life.

The Opposition was in agreement with this and had accordingly given their consent to an eight-per-cent increase in government spending. The Möller proposals involved an increase of twelve per cent so the real battle was only over four per cent.

What exactly the weapons are that Alex Möller has in mind for countering further price increases was not explained by the Minister in any detail. Nor did he make any firm stand on the question of whether taxes will be increased and if so which ones and by how much.

The basic bone of contention in the great budget battle is about the rise in

government spending of twelve per cent and whether this is likely to add fuel to the fire of rising costs and prices.

It is only the actual extent of the demand for public money that can decide what effect the budget will have on the national economy. This applies particularly to the building trade. In the building trade an increase of twelve per cent in public spending would not represent an increase at all, but would amount to a cut since even the most conservative estimate shows that building costs and prices have risen by twenty per cent this year.

Whether the steep rise in prices will continue throughout the new year or not does not depend to any great extent on whether government spending increases by the eight per cent suggested by the Opposition and whether the government wins the day with its plans to spend twelve per cent more.

What is far more significant is how steep the increase in wages will be when the next round of wage and salary negotiations takes place. Furthermore it will depend on the twenty-thousand-million-Mark cut-back in spending power that Alex Möller has brought about by recent finance measures.

Another factor influencing stabilisation will be the drop in the number of incoming orders to Federal Republic industry, which is already a marked trend. This may well lead to a tendency for investments to be cut back.

One final crucial factor is whether the government and the Bundesbank will continue to close their eyes to the fact that all their efforts are in vain for as long as they fail to protect our economy from international trends, either by increased flexibility of exchange rates or quantitative restrictions on the flow of capital from abroad to this country.

Walter Skotosek
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 September 1970)

North German parliament meets

Without any status symbols the first meeting of the *Norddeutsches Parlament* (Parliament for the north of the Federal Republic) will be held on 8 October in Hanover.

So modest is the project that it has not been finally decided whether it should bear such a lofty title as "parliament" or whether it should be designated "joint committee" of the four North German provincial assemblies.

Nevertheless this modest project does seem to offer a chance for paving the way to practical beginnings of a reform in the relationship of one Federal state to another. The danger is that instead of doing this it will create a union of the northern Federal states.

The first suggestion that there should be a regular "North German conference" came from Schleswig-Holstein eighteen months ago.

The idea was that the work plan drawn up by Schleswig-Holstein in conjunction with the state of Hamburg to discuss the question of re-aligning borders should be handed over to the four north German ministers of economic affairs, their State secretaries and twelve members of parliament.

But the plan to create such a mixture of government representatives and parliamentarians was rejected by the other three Federal states.

The state of Bremen, which is very concerned about its independence, agreed to the idea of a "north German joint committee" only with reservations.

It was concerned that the outcome should not be the formation of one North German coastal state. In Bremen it was considered unconstitutional to embark on anything more than political preparatory work in the form of recommendations to the individual state parliaments.

Bremen suggested that education policies and matters concerning universities should be included in the work of the new committee along with economic affairs policies and transport.

The brakes were slammed on even harder by Alfred Kubel (SDF), who had not at that time risen to the position of head of government in Lower Saxony. He burst the bubble of dreams of a "North German federation".

Despite growing objections the idea of the North German parliament was not fled away. Prospects of increasing industrialisation on the North Sea coastline made a joint parliamentary instrument for the four states look more important. Delaying tactics and procrastination on the part of state authorities are well-known.

Certainly the prospects of linking the underdeveloped coastline with the industrial conveyor belt of the Rhine stretching from Basel to Rotterdam are something that can only be realised in the far distant future.

But this seems to be the most realistic method of linking the fortunes of the rich and poor Federal states one day.

Joy about the formation of a joint conference of parliamentarians may be somewhat premature, since the form discussions take is not so important.

Nevertheless the members of this committee have already given clear indications that they will not let themselves be considered a mini-Bundesrat for the four Federal states, but that they understand their status to be that of a fully-fledged parliament.

The members of the various political parties (twenty-one from the Social Democrats, seventeen Christian Democrats and two Free Democrats) will form their own parliamentary parties without paying heed to geographical divisions.

Peter Weigert
(DTE WELT, 21 September 1970)

Swedish voters give Social Democrats short shrift

of existing social achievements. At present 69-year-old Tage Erlander is undoubtedly the man.

"Youngster" Palme noticed too late that Hedlund was trying to fill the gap left on Erlander's retirement and at the same time to make capital out of inflationary trends.

Not until the end of August did Palme counter by imposing a ban on price increases for foodstuffs. In the final days of the campaign Erlander was brought out of retirement and re-entered the ring, but obviously too late. Many Swedes had already made up their minds.

Worried by Palme's economic policies, and his slogan "More equality" they opted for Hedlund, the veteran whose slogan was, to all intents and purposes, "No experiments."

The gains made by the Centrists and the Liberals are nonetheless not enough to form a Conservative-Centre-Liberal coalition and force the Social Democrats into opposition.

Sweden's Communists are the reason why. They appear to have won back many of the voters who deserted them in the 1968 elections immediately after the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Providing the right-wing parties do not make further gains when postal votes are all in and counted, Olof Palme will probably form a Social Democratic minority government.

He cannot consider a coalition with the Centrists because he needs to be able to call for fresh elections when the oppor-

tunity arises. This leaves him dependant on the Communists and although it would not be the first time that Sweden's Social Democrats have been in this position the present situation is slightly more problematic than it has been in the past.

Social Democrats have grown more prone to left-wing arguments and Communist support will make the Swedish government's position in the forthcoming Common Market entry negotiations that much more difficult.

Palme must be even more depressed by the international consequences of the Social Democratic election defeat than he will be by the domestic ones.

Following the hand-over of power in Bonn and the victory of Austria's Socialists Sweden's Premier was thinking in terms of a left-wing Europe with himself scouting the ideological terrain for a third way between capitalism and communism.

Labour's general election defeat in Britain made the likelihood of this dream coming true less and less promising and it now looks as though Palme will have to jettison any such ideas for the time being and put in hard domestic work instead.

Otherwise he runs the risk of Sweden's Social Democrats being forced into opposition in the next general election - opposition after forty years in power.

Swedish voters certainly gave Olof Palme something to think about. His opposite numbers in this country would do well to stop and think too.

Left-wing policies at home are evidently as dangerous as disregard for the value of money. Coming as it does shortly before local elections in Bavaria and hence this warning note ought to be borne in mind by Germany's Social Democrats.

Ulrich Frank-Planitz
(CHRIST UND WELT, 25 September 1970)

Women of the world unite!

Women of the world, unite! Women of the world, unite! Women of the world, unite! The message in bold letters or italics on pamphlets and placards, spreading the gospel of emancipation loud and clear.

An estimated 40,000 women all over the Federal Republic have heard the word in recent weeks. It is understood to be the signal for the founding of "the First Women's Party" (EFP).

The address printed on the pamphlets is Pforsheimer Strasse in Mannheim and so it seems that this brand new party's history will be recorded by the chroniclers as beginning in this pleasant city on the Rhine and Neckar.

This is not exactly the situation, according to Gisela Gawlik, 36, who is described on the pamphlets as being a member of the committee of the EFP. At the moment there is only a group of sponsors, who elected a committee on 24 January this year, and who are now engaged on inviting and inciting the women of the Federal Republic to become politically active in their first ever party.

Men are also welcome as members, but they will not be allowed to hold official positions within the party.

It is not yet certain when the new party will be unveiled. But the politically minded housewife from the deep south of Bavaria to the extreme north of Schleswig-Holstein has already expressed interest.

So far 18,000 people have applied for membership and each day around fifty new applications arrive at the Mannheim address of the EFP.

Branch offices have been set up in Düsseldorf, Dortmund, Ulm, Cologne, Saarbrücken, Wiesbaden, Frankfurt and Munich and the interest is said to be just as great there.

be politically aware and always up to date.

Gisela Gawlik is not perturbed by the five per cent hurdle (required minimum percentage of seats for entry into parliament). She said: "It looks a little frightening at the moment, but that is because we have not had enough publicity to catch people's attention..."

The EFP is at present fighting against the prejudice that might arise if they are confused with militant extremists in emancipation movements, such as Holland's *dolle Minnen*, who roam the streets of Amsterdam terrorising the male population.

"That may be suited to Holland, but we plan to continue our campaign along serious lines," Gisela Gawlik said.

Gisela Gawlik, a mother of three daughters and two adoptive children thinks she knows the formula for getting women into the ways of free-thinking. She said: "They should use anti-authoritarian methods of education and their children would be able to develop their own personalities."

Furthermore the idea of forming the party came from her eleven year-old daughter Bärbel. Gisela Gawlik has spent a great deal of time in doctors' waiting rooms and public authority buildings in connection with her daughter who has been lame from birth. There she has met a number of other women who have similar problems to hers.

She has always tried to help and was never sparing when it came to giving good advice. One day Bärbel said to the mother: "Mummy, our home is such a sad place. We ought to start a society that could help people like us."

A women's committee, designed to give help in such cases was formed. This developed until it became the germ of the new women's party.

(CHRIST UND WELT, 25 September 1970)

1970-10-08

HOME AFFAIRS

Public have us all wrong, lawyers claim at Mainz conference

All members of the legal profession are lumped together in the same boat by the man in the street however varied their careers, characters and professional views may be.

Lay people who seek justice and yet often lack all fairness themselves have long viewed the legal profession with a mixture of admiration, envy, mistrust and scorn. Negative emotions predominate as long as the person does not need to go to a lawyer for counsel.

Since the days of positivism members of the legal profession have been decried as perfectionists with omnipotent means at their disposal, as pen-wielders and remote casuists.

They stand helpless against the weight of public opinion and generally do little to make themselves understood or improve their image.

The legal conference that started in Mainz on 22 September should have provided enough opportunities for this. In a democratic society the public image of judges, privy councillors, company lawyers and solicitors is a matter of some concern.

It is important for this society to know whether its law and order is in good hands or not. It is not a matter of indifference whether it regards a capable legal profession as important and necessary or not.

It was right not to use any of the past legal conferences as platforms for declamatory self-representation but to turn to legal problems and try to influence changes in various aspects of the law.

Approval must certainly be given to the fact that the 48th legal conference dealt with marriage law, punishment and data processing.

But the stating of legal details, their phraseology and the resolutions must show that the legal profession in the Federal Republic, a democratic constitu-

tional state, have perhaps the most important function of all professions - that of seeing to all legal obligations and controls.

From this point of view, there is a legal monopoly in the good sense of the word as knowledge, judgement and the understanding of formal necessities must be learnt.

As we do not have a legal system that can be immediately understood by laymen and that is easy to use, and cannot have in an industrial society that is growing increasingly complicated, a further function of the legal profession is to make the law understandable to ordinary citizens.

That does not only mean that verdicts in civil courts must be phrased in such a way to be understandable to the offender and that sentences must be passed in such a way that the condemned man too understands.

Laws must also be set out in a simpler manner and traffic signs must be correctly positioned. This demands the friendship and cooperation of the district councils.

But the legal profession has other, less obvious obligations. The legal conference, unlike Parliament and parties, need not take account of voters and the likelihood of a policy being approved. It can state what is antiquated and what must be reformed for the good of the community.

Past legal conferences have shown that the necessity for reforms, in the penal code for example, is often far more plain than politicians are able to admit because of all their commitments.

This independence gives the legal conference the duty of making proposals for further alterations that will bring the law in line with practical life.

The legal profession's most cherished conviction has always been that freedom

must be guaranteed in the face of those who wield the power, the government and interest groups as well as in the face of powerful atavistic popular beliefs.

This conviction can also be used today to invalidate arguments that the legal profession is no more than an instrument of the ruling classes.

The 48th legal conference was the first to be held during the Social Democrats term of office. It took place at the beginning of a period that will probably be marked by greater party political interest in domestic policy.

Though the image of the legal profession remains unchanged in the eyes of the man on the street, lawyers themselves are aware of the great changes in their work.

The turnover of laws is greater, and lawyers must consult their legal tomes all the more often to find out what laws are in force.

Lawyers are forced to have a knowledge of other subjects as an aid that must not be ignored in decision making as it explains more clearly than before what effects the decision will have.

Logically the legal conference also dealt with the changes in a lawyer's training.

Another far-reaching change is the expanded field of law. The laws of the European Economic Community and international institutions are increasing by leaps and bounds. Court rulings are also increasing.

The law is also expanding in the technological field. Computers are to be used to reduce the bulky collections of files and solve the shortage of clerical staff. This was another subject discussed at the legal conference.

It is only natural that the flood of new innovations also changes and perhaps improves law study. The balance between emphasising the dogmatic, formal and technical on the one hand and the ideal, social and just on the other, the balance between the security provided by the law on the one hand and justice on the other, will always pose lawyers problems.

A late Roman stated that the law was there for the benefit of human being and could not be allowed to be an abstraction - *pectus facit iuriconsultum*.

Hanno Kühnert
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 21 September 1970)

Government gives go ahead for sex law reform bill

On 17 September the government approved a bill that will liberalise laws concerned with sexual offences and abolish for the most part the penal regulations of the existing law.

Simple pandering and the distribution of pornography will no longer be punishable.

Justice Minister Gerhard Jahn, explaining the bill at a press conference, stated that the penal code could no longer impose itself as a guardian on society.

Not all cases of immorality could be subject to punishment, the Minister continued. The draft was composed bearing in mind the greatest possible freedom of the individual and the necessary conditions for peaceable coexistence.

Minister Jahn added that the penal code could only be the final way to express strong social disapproval.

The term of fornication is missing from the new bill in order to exclude moral judgements under which all extra-marital intercourse is fornication. Instead the term "sexual conduct" has been adopted in the bill.

Under the new law simple pandering will not be subject to punishment. This is a case where for example a husband tolerates "sexual conduct" between his wife and a third party.

Group sex and partner-swapping, practices formerly frowned upon, will no longer be subject to punishment either.

The bill also envisages a wide freedom from punishment for the distribution of pornography. But the sale or offer of products of this type to minors will be punishable. Sending unrequested pornographic material through the post will also remain punishable.

Minister Jahn stated that this bill would probably not meet with general approval. But, he said, the government believed that a balanced solution had been found. The bill will now have to be discussed at length in the Bundestag.

(Münchener Merkur, 18 September 1970)

INTER-GERMAN RELATIONS

SED adopts hard line on Berlin after Bonn-Moscow treaty

Has the pause for thought in the Inter-German talks agreed upon in Basel on 21 May been extended by East Berlin for an indefinite period?

Recent statements by officials of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) seem to rule out a third meeting between Willy Brandt and Willi Stoph this year.

Helmut Schauburg had firmly reckoned on further negotiations this year after Willy Brandt had, at the beginning of July, held out the prospect of a third round of talks after the signing of a treaty between Bonn and Moscow renouncing the use of force.

In the meantime the leaders of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) have changed their mind and even announced a demarcation of the GDR from the Federal Republic in all areas.

This has spoiled the laboriously pieced together plans of the coalition of Social and Free Democrats in the field of German policy and subdues the never very high hopes of a satisfactory Berlin settlement.

A solution of this type is now once again remote. *Neues Deutschland*, the central organ of the SED, recently renewed GDR claims on West Berlin which, it claims, is an occupied area lying on and surrounded by the territory of the GDR.

This phraseology is quite obviously used by the SED leaders to undermine efforts by Moscow to come to binding agreements on Berlin at the talks between the ambassadors of the four powers.

The Russians would scarcely sign a Berlin agreement against the express wishes of East Berlin especially as GDR politicians have had their unyielding attitude fortified. Peking expressed its unexpected support and accused Moscow of having betrayed the GDR by signing the agreement with Bonn.

For the hawks in the SED leadership this was a welcome opportunity to abandon their reserve concerning the Bonn-Moscow Treaty.

Four weeks after the agreement had been concluded an unsigned article appeared in *Neues Deutschland* at their instigation. This article discussed critically Western economic aid and turned it down as far as the GDR was concerned.

The warning to Moscow could not be missed, but it is also directed at their own economic managers who have still not given up the hope of industrial cooperation between the two Germanies.

It is this that has been rejected by representatives of the orthodox wing of the party like Ulbricht's crown prince Erich Honecker and East Berlin branch party boss Paul Verner.

They fear, not unjustifiably, that inter-German cooperation of this type would automatically lead to a rapprochement between the two parts of Germany. This would be perilous for such a politically unstable system as that existing in the GDR.

The hawks in East Berlin cannot therefore be blamed for using all the means at their disposal to prevent cooperation between the two German states.

They cannot be blamed for denying that there are any common denominators between the people of the GDR and the Federal Republic.

This was the essence of a recent speech by Hermann Axen, foreign affairs expert on the SED Central Committee. He said, "No nationalist demagoguery about so-called inter-German relations or the alleged unity of the nation can disguise the basic truth that whole worlds and epochs divide the Socialist German state from the monopolistic capitalistic regime in West Germany."

"Our brothers and sisters with whom we are linked in really special, Socialist class relations are the peoples of the Soviet Union and the great Socialist community."

Enthusiasm for these supposed brothers and sisters does not seem to be very great or else the East Berlin government need hardly have sent a new man to Bucharest recently.

There is no other way to explain the recall of Ambassador Moldt from Rumania and the appointment of Hans Voss, formerly the German affairs expert in the East Berlin Foreign Ministry.

Hans Voss, a member of the GDR delegations at the negotiations in both Erfurt and Kassel, previously seemed to be indispensable in East Berlin, especially as he had taken part in nearly all other inter-German talks.

There is therefore little probability that he was transferred to Bucharest merely to prepare a treaty of friendship between Rumania and the GDR.

There is also little to support the conjecture that Voss has gone to Bucharest for secret talks with envoys from Bonn on Berlin or the preparation of a third inter-German summit conference.

The Russians themselves would not allow this. Only a few weeks ago they stopped their junior partner's thirst for action when the GDR government wanted to go it alone in the Berlin question and even grant certain intra-city concessions, it was quickly brought to heel by Moscow.

Ulbricht had to be told that the settlement of the Berlin problem was not a German affair but one that concerned the four powers.

This was reason enough for the SED head to remind the Kremlin leaders to observe the East Berlin-Moscow treaty of friendship signed on 12 June 1964.

This pact commits the Russians to support a normalisation of the situation in West Berlin, and assure that German militarism and Nazism is stamped out on Federal Republic territory as set out in the Potsdam agreement between the governments of the four powers.

Henning Frank
(CHRIST UND WELT, 18 September 1970)

The party coolly estimates that a society that is so thoroughly organised will function at the press of a button and will be a secure defence against domestic tension.

Not even the SED elite can believe that the GDR is threatened by an attack by the NATO countries or the Federal Republic as they tell their fellow-countrymen.

The measures announced with a clear note of conviction in the People's Chamber on 16 September and held as a protection against imperialism are far more the desired and planned protection against domestic upheavals and conflicts within the Communist sphere.

Many GDR citizens feel this in their subconsciousness and East Berlin's strategists also understand the measures along these lines.

Werner Barn
(DIE WELT, 19 September 1970)

Continued from page 4
overrate the harmfulness of sexual sensations on the minds of the young (excluding those who react with violence of course).

Many adults who have not come to terms with their sex life want to be consoled with the knowledge that there is at least one sphere that is still pure and erroneously believe that they can find this sphere among children and adolescents.

They defend this purity with an exaggerated fervour that is mainly nourished by ignorance and insecurity and therefore

SPD steers clear of Communists

This country's Communist Party, the DKP, has adopted Walter Ulbricht's line and is trying to prevent the ratification of the Bonn-Moscow Treaty.

The DKP has launched an Initiator Circle for European Security. The first largescale event of this organisation will take place in Frankfurt's Paulskirche on 11 October.

Under the pretence of wanting to hasten a European security conference the DKP wants to make use of a number of left-wing Social Democrat members of the Bundestag.

This at least is the impression of young left-wing circles in the SPD who meet regularly once a week in Bonn. They have therefore issued a statement advising members not to attend the conference in the Paulskirche.

They claim that recent developments have shown that the conference is to be made to serve a purpose that the SPD cannot approve.

Among the signatories of the statement are Bundestag members Bardens, Beermann, Bechert, Engholm, Dröscher, Kalkka, Hansen, Walkhoff. SPD politicians Möller, Lehlbach and Sönger, Young Socialist leader Karsten Voigt and Young Democrat Heiner Bremer. Most of them had previously lent their names to the campaign.

Chancellor Willy Brandt, in the first meeting of the parliamentary SPD after the summer recess, had already warned "some shortsighted or not wholly informed people" not to allow themselves to be used in the DKP-controlled campaign calling itself the People's Movement for European Security.

The DKP had obviously kept in the background of the campaign. A local branch chairman of the DKP is reported to have been severely reprimanded by party leader Buchmann for signing an appeal to attend the conference. Among the conference organisers are Professors Kogon and Fabian.

The measures taken by the young left-wing Social Democrat members have once again proved that they loyally support their party. They do not want to be used to make the Communist Party respectable, though they are in favour of discussions with Communists of all shades.

The danger of opening a door to the left is that they would always be suspected of forming a popular front with the Communists.

Because of these dangers the SPD leadership has included the question of discussions with the Communists in its programme for the coming winter.

In a pamphlet distributed to members after the signing of the Bonn-Moscow Treaty it was stated that there would be no change in the SPD's position regarding the Communist Party.

The Treaty with the Soviet Union, it was said, was a treaty between two states and not an agreement between two different ideologies and social systems.

(Handelsblatt, 21 September 1970)

basically by their lacking sense of adulthood.

But as long as we have only hypotheses and no established fact at our disposal we are faced with the responsibility of maintaining appropriate protection for the young.

"All in all, we are faced by a paradox. A wave of sex is sweeping across the country yet the reform of the law concerned with sex does not seem to be acceptable to voters who are at the same time the consumers and stimulants of this sex wave." *Robert Leich*
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 19 September 1970)

Prejudice among the general public hampers sex law reform

fornication is to disappear from the phraseology of the law, though really from the technical point of view there is no gain.

But this is a farewell gesture to moral and emotional attitudes. It is plain that not only this term rouses emotions, but the whole subject.

It is not easy to discard views that, though wrong, are deep-set. It is scarcely surprising that even the reformers have to fight their own prejudices (so what are the feelings of their opponents?) and in many cases do not dare to draw up laws that are free of all bias. Some points are not politically advisable even today.

But nobody should forget that a progressive legal framework can also serve towards weakening people's prejudices.

The opposite, the preservation of prejudice, was seen in an exemplary manner in the 1962 government draft that can still be viewed as an example of deterrent. Speaking of homosexuality between consenting males, it stated that it must remain punishable as it represented a constant source of blackmail. And why did it form a source of blackmail? Because it was punishable. There was no other reason.

The present law on male homosexuality, though an improvement, is a

similar example. This is generally punishable if participants are aged between eighteen and 21. This curious situation can be traced back to military pressure.

It would have been more sensible to treat homosexuality in the army not as a criminal offence but as a disciplinary transgression, just as "normal" sexual contacts in the services are treated unless they are covered by the punishable misuse of conditions of dependence.

Many people are now asking if it is really right for the State to favour citizens who have unusual needs in their sex life.

It is this referring to the laws, the question is wrongly phrased and, if dealing with the problems themselves, wrongly answered.

In a society that claims to be liberal and constitutional the legislature does not ask what it can generously allow but what it must necessarily forbid in order to protect this society. Only the laws handed down to us give the impression that they are favouring certain sections.

But really we are being called upon to do something for those people who are unable to gain sexual gratification. The penal code is the worst possible measure to use when advice and information is more appropriate.

In past years the view of what is obscene has changed as has the idea of the function of punishment by the State. If we look at the history of the penal code we see that laws forbidding many sexual practices and the punishment inflicted for these offences have not made our society any more moral.

Legal and moral taboos have sooner caused social damage. In countries that have abandoned antiquated laws there has been no rise in serious sex crimes such as rape. There is all the more reason to suppose that the number of these offences has decreased.

The abolition of laws banning pornography in Denmark would have brought the local trade there to a state of ruin had it not been for lucrative exports to the Federal Republic.

It is time for reform! That means that everything occurring between consenting adults without violating the protected rights of others is of no concern to anyone else.

When people object that this would harm the healthiness of our society, this is only a result of their ignorance on questions of sex. People who believe this are transferring their own inabilities and fear into their environment.

The young must be protected for the sake of their free and unharmed development. But we should all be aware of the fact that the scientific side has not been completely investigated.

But one thing is already clear - people

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Behind the thick protective smoke-screen of the diversionary propaganda campaign against alleged West German plans for civil war, emergency measures and militarisation, the SED phalanx, without any previous announcement, perfected the current militarisation of society in the German Democratic Republic.

On 16 September the People's Chamber approved the Law for the Civil Defence of the German Democratic Republic.

As so often under Ulbricht's regime the public was presented with a fait accompli, pieced together brick by brick to highly perfectionised emergency system which was then declared the will of the people and a law.

Air defence and, later, the expanded system of civil defence was placed alongside police units, the later National People's Army and the officials' fighting units or Labour Fighting Units as they are officially called, together with local military groups.

Today all mayors in the GDR, even those of insignificant villages, are in charge of civil defence in their area. In every one of the 9,000 towns and villages a civil defence committee is making an effort to integrate citizens into the country's defence system. Battle exercises are carried out in the civil defence organisation.

Between one in five and one in ten GDR citizens are today organised in the civil defence system. They train there, they are tested in, spartakiads and the propaganda departments of the civil defence staff and armed forces commissions

Civil Defence Act closes last link in GDR armour-plating

are rousing them against the Federal Republic, their class enemy.

All First Secretaries of local rural and urban branches of the SED also head the regional operations command.

Thousands of millions of Marks from the GDR's national income are used to provide their instruments of war, their weapons, vehicles, masks, protective clothing and chemicals.

There may be a shortage of classrooms at schools, of places at kindergarten or housing and economic investment. There may be deficiencies in transport and supply. But the military and semi-military organisations have all they want.

The population lives with this system even though they do not love it. Since the Czech crisis no one can free himself of the SED's militarisation measures any longer.

Where there was no law on the subject internal directives committed all citizens and directors to do service in the defence of their country.

Many citizens of the GDR no longer care whether they fulfil their annoying duty as a reservist in the National People's Army, as a police or border guard assistant, in the grey fighting unit uniform, the blue DRK uniform, in one of the many military operations staffs or in the civil defence.

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■ OBITUARY

Ernst May, an architect who liked to think big



With the death of Ernst May we may well assume that his profession, town planner, was not an exhausting one, since he, like the two other Germans who made great names for themselves in this sphere, became an octogenarian.

Gropius was 82 when he died and Mies van der Rohe was 81 years old. Ernst May outlived both of them and died at 84.

Oud and Riefeld in Holland and Frenchman Le Corbusier, not to mention the American Richard Neutra all reached old age. But of course town planning is not necessarily conducive to a long life and several town planners have had heart attacks.

A more plausible explanation for the long life of many town planners is provided by the youngsters who exclaim with resignation: "What a generation of lively old warriors they were. Their early lives were marked by healthy abstinence and the burden on their nerves was not so great."

From his biography we can see that this was not the case as far as Ernst May was concerned. He was the son of a factory owner in Frankfurt and his childhood was spent in surroundings that were far from poverty-stricken.

Twice in his life he was forced into emigration and this could hardly have spared his nervous constitution. In fact his biography shows him as being a man who was hunted.

Certainly, when he emigrated to the Soviet Union in 1930 he did so voluntarily along with others who held the same view as he. He left behind him the fame he had won as town planning adviser to Frankfurt, who had done more for the city in five years than anyone else had achieved in fifty. He also left behind him the aura of the "cultural Bolsheviks"

who would have had his head if he had been in Germany in 1933 and who at any rate prevented him from returning.

But when the Bolsheviks under Stalin's leadership made it clear that they did not want to know about the ideas of German architects Ernst May once again left great works behind him as well as a number of unfinished works.

He had founded towns in the Urals, in Western Siberia and in Armenia, the satellite cities of Moscow.

He was a pioneer, a role into which he threw his immense stature. In Tanzania he built himself a farm after he had carried out a study of the problems of living in Africa.

May built in Tanzania before he had done any building and planning work in Kenya and Uganda.

This great architect scarcely ever built a single house, but always an estate, a centre, a settlement, a whole district of a town, even.

Subtly, individually designed architecture did not suit him nor interest him. His genius as a creator was not directed at component parts — he always set his sights on the completed whole.

He liked to plan a city as an organism, well-designed, functioning perfectly, fulfilling the needs of men. This was his quest, his dream, the impulse for his work.

This is probably what is looked on so enviously by the younger generation as the "vitality" of his generation and what is often confused with physical robustness.

In fact Ernst May was physically robust, but the same did not apply to Gropius who had a kind of tender toughness, while Mies van der Rohe was tortured by many ailments.

The thing that kept these architects young, even in their later years, was probably their unbounded optimism and their good conscience. They were able to talk of the welfare of mankind without being hypocritical.

This they made the aim of their plans



Ernst May

(Photo: G.)

for improved living conditions and comfortable, pleasant places of work.

May's first model settlement was the fragile, charming Frankfurt Römerstadt. Mies van der Rohe designed the Weissenhofsiedlung in Stuttgart. Both architects worked with good consciences, doing everything possible to create better accommodation for people who had lived before in tumbledown, dingy hovels.

These creations were not designed to pander to property speculators, nor were they meant to be a demonstration of the power and wealth of the organisations that financed them.

The good conscience of this architect, who had socialist leanings, failed after a time to overcome the complicated situation within a society based on a market economy.

In the face of party politics in Frankfurt, which offered to employ him again as town planning adviser after the War, May declined, saying: "Too much bungling!"

Ernst May's role in postwar Germany was, more than anything else, that of an adviser. As such he was far-sighted and energetic. He worked on *Die neue Heimat* in Hamburg, sat on numerous committees

and on special commissions of approval for designs and prices.

As a respected member of his profession he was de rigueur on such committees and regarded as a kind of factotum. With his booming voice and wit that was sometimes near the bone he swiftly overcame the more prim and proper voices on these committees.

He never again had a whole city in his sights. His general plan of construction for Mainz was hacked to pieces by his successor, which was to the disadvantage of the city. Wiesbaden accepted his suggestions in part.

Beneath his optimistic exterior there was always a warning voice. He was greatly disturbed at the latest developments in his profession and forecast cities choking from their own great size, jammed roads and many other aspects that he himself had not intended in his town planning projects.

It was not his way to try to make complicated problems look simple and thus the remedies he suggested for these problems were drastic. Perhaps in time he will be proved right.

Helene Rahms

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 September 1970)

■ PROFILE

Rolf Liebermann of Hamburg State Opera

Rolf Liebermann was an outsider when he took over the direction of the Hamburg State Opera in the summer of 1959. His development had not so far predestined him for this post. His only previous connection with the opera was as the passionate composer of three works that earned him substantial royalties throughout the country.

The only experience Liebermann had had of management was two years as head of the music department of Norddeutscher Rundfunk in Hamburg.

Today, eleven years on, his fame and that of his opera house are worldwide. Connoisseurs — and not just Germans or Hamburgers, but those of other nationalities too — consider the Staatsoper in Dammtorstrasse to be the leading opera house in the world at present.

Liebermann's name is mentioned whenever one of the leading opera houses is looking for a director. He would soon be given the position if only he wanted it.

But Liebermann, sixty years old on 14 September, does not want to continue here or anywhere else. He has stated plainly that he is going to retire in the summer of 1973, fourteen years after first taking the post.

He has achieved all that was possible in Hamburg. He has fulfilled Bertolt Brecht's demand to do what can be done. Further improvement cannot be imagined.

There would only have been one chance to keep him longer and that would have been to combine the posts of director of the opera houses in Hamburg and Berlin.

This plan suddenly cropped up in discussions and it would probably have been without its attraction if Liebermann had agreed to fill these twin posts. But it would only have been possible with him and even then there are important arguments against a plan of this type.

Hamburg's City Hall thought that this idea had a lot of promise. Berlin declined after some hesitation and has in the meantime appointed Egon Seefelder as G.R. Selner's successor.

The historical importance of the Liebermann Era can already be measured even though he has still almost three more years to serve, even though many leading conductors and singers are to appear in Hamburg in the next three seasons and even though there will be new productions of the *Ring der Nibelungen* and Schoenberg's *Moses and Aaron* as well as premieres of half a dozen specially commissioned works.

Rolf Liebermann has increased the artistic standard and reputation of the Hamburg State Opera even though both these factors were present even before he took over.

When he came in 1959 the opera house was already well off. Günther Rennert had not sacrificed any of his uncompromising artistic demands to the difficulties involved in making a fresh start after the War and formed his own consistent style.

Rennert's achievements were passed on to Liebermann via Heinz Tietjen. They had lost none of their freshness or perfection.

Liebermann committed himself to a programme when he took over in 1959. Contemporary works were to be more strongly represented in the repertoire. The idea of the ensemble was to be encouraged despite contemporary trends of concentrating on stars.

He also announced that he would fight the neglect of the repertoire programme and commission works that would take into account the special opportunities

offered by the State Opera and its ensemble.

A lot has changed in the last ten years. People have become more "culinary". Liebermann was once accused of being an anti-Wagnerian — this can no longer be claimed.

Liebermann used to have Italian operas sung in German. This policy was for what he called democratic reasons. He did not only want to play for fans and snobs. But for many years now he has reverted to the original language.

Stars singers often appear in the ensemble these days too. But they do not only appear in gala performances, that is the charming thing about it, but sing in any production that happens to be on.

And when the opportunity arises, which is not so rare as might be thought, a star of the stature of Joan Sutherland comes to Hamburg to take part in endless rehearsals for a premiere and sing in all the public performances of the work.

The dream of presenting a wide range of modern works has not always been possible. The production of Krzysztof Penderecki's *Devils of Loudon* disappeared from the repertoire after only ten days. The number of contemporary works in the repertoire declined rather than increased as years went by.

Liebermann's policy of commissioning works has often been criticised in recent years. The accusation that there are too many failures and too many nine-day wonders in Hamburg can be dismissed.

Liebermann can do little more than give the cream of international composers the chance of introducing themselves with a new operatic work. Never in the history of opera there has been a permanently successful masterpiece composed every twelve months.

For this reason it is remarkable that three operas commissioned in the past ten years by the Hamburg State Opera from Hans Werner Henze, Giselher Klebe and Krzysztof Penderecki have quickly been included in the repertoire of other opera houses.

Its foreign tours, including a visit to New York, has made Hamburg's State Opera synonymous with quality throughout the world.

Liebermann soon recognised the opportunities offered by the young medium of television and negotiated a deal for the televising of thirteen operas from his repertoire.

Stravinsky was invited to Hamburg State Opera for a musical celebration of his eightieth birthday.

Liebermann has always been able to increase the subsidies paid to his company. By the skilful negotiation of the contract basing this subsidy on the amount paid to Berlin's Deutsche Oper he has managed to raise the total to a dream level.

He has also interested private patrons in the State Opera. All this is the spectacular side of his career and successes.



Rolf Liebermann

(Photo: Rosemarie Clausen)

Another side is even more valuable. In an age when opera was becoming more and more dubious and the young showed little interest, Liebermann proved that it is possible to present operas with dignity.

He does not consider the opera house as a museum of long-gone sounds but knows how to capture some of its contemporary quality. And his audiences followed him faithfully.

Liebermann's resignation and the necessity to choose a successor occurred during the complete confusion caused in Hamburg by Hans Lietzau's decision to leave the Deutsches Schauspielhaus for Berlin.

Rumours and plans are circulating — no two are alike. Everybody wants something different but basically no one really knows what anyone wants.

The fate of the State Opera is also at stake here. All these events affect it in some way or another. The structural report to be submitted by Culture Senator Reinhard Philipp to the House of Burgesses this October covers the State Opera as does the united association for technical and administrative matters proposed in the 1969 rationalisation memorandum.

Proposals have also been made for the appointment of a general director who would be responsible for the opera and one or both of the publicly-owned theatres.

This is the most absurd plan ever to have been suggested. It is completely

Contrived from page 6

removed this idyll? Was it perhaps the industrial revolutions, the reactionaries or the progressives? The answer to questions such as this must be left to the historians with all their inventiveness.

Everything is different now. Interiors are considered simply aesthetic, rather than of any documentary value.

Artists such as Liebermann, Skarbina and Corinth carried on the work of painting interiors from Menzel, whose *Balkonzimmer* cannot be exhibited since it is on loan to the United States.

Other artists concentrated on reproducing in detail styles and architecture, for instance R. Lucase and A.O. Orth. One

contrary to a development recognised as necessary by even smaller cities. J.Hanover has already scrapped its post of general director and Frankfurt and Nuremberg are to follow, dividing operatic activities from the theatre.

Liebermann himself refused the post of general director. After Egon Monk's resignation he refused categorically to take over his position at the Deutsches Schauspielhaus in addition to his own position.

To link the question of Liebermann's successor with the problems of Hamburg's theatres would be tantamount to admitting a healthy person into a ward of patients with contagious diseases.

The Culture Senator has asked, "What do we actually want to do with our theatres?" The State Opera itself answered this. To perform operas as well as we have been doing up to now, was its quick reply.

Haste is the order of the day. An opera company needs to plan much further in advance than theatres. The 1973-74 season must be planned now. Liebermann is now forced to append his signature to contracts that will bind his successor.

The uncertainty of what is going to happen after Liebermann goes threatens to drive away the ensemble's best members.

The decision on Liebermann's successor must not be delayed any longer, especially as there is one man standing by whose person will guarantee that Liebermann's inheritance will not be misspent.

The appointment of a director is closely linked with the question of a new general musical director for the opera.

This post will have to be filled again from 1973. One reason is that the other general musical director in Hamburg, Wolfgang Sawallisch, the conductor of the Philharmonic's concerts, could well branch out beyond Hamburg.

If Hamburg opera is to live up to its high reputation it will not be able to exist without guest performances by conductors even if there is a general musical director.

The bitter experiences of earlier on when a general musical director could block the engagement of an important conductor for months on end must not be forgotten when the time comes to sign new contracts.

Finally there is the question of whether the new director could not be given a studio, something that Liebermann never had. As the Schauspielhaus may be receiving a studio in the near future this could be shared.

In the studio new operatic forms that are simply too small for the large dimensions of the present building on the Dammtorstrasse could be tested.

All these problems suddenly became relevant on the sixtieth birthday of the man who is to leave his post at the State Opera in less than three years time.

The news has been out for some time but it is still impossible to grasp it — Hamburg's State Opera will be without this worldly-wise, clever, frank composer from Zurich, a man who has achieved whatever he has wanted as if this were the simplest thing on Earth.

Peter Dannenberg
(DIE WELT, 14 September 1970)

Classic Berlin interiors in paintings and plates

Pictures, generally speaking, only present a mask of what is depicted. Day-to-day life often requires that we don several different masks, but that we always wear a mask of some kind. In our profession and our social life we need a mask.

Those who are fortunate enough to have their likeness immortalised by an artist, needless to say, put on the mask they want to see immortalised. Their "true face" may or may not shine through.

A living-room does not lie. Those who are shrewd can read a living-room like a book — a biography. This is probably the reason for people's shyness at showing this intimate part of a person's character to a visiting stranger.

This may also explain why the "Dutch interior" is a rarity among paintings. Artists from all over the world have painted all kinds of subjects, Christianity, paganism, historic heroes, lovers, animals, landscapes, battles, hunting, still life, fashions down to the tiniest detail, uniforms and the unknown and abstract.

But apart from the Dutch painters artists have not invaded the privacy of the living-room. It is a theme which is apparently taboo.

Nevertheless a little searching reveals many surprises. Immdard Wirth has delved among the undergrowth of Berlin paintings, drawings, sketches and the like and

come up with some quite surprising results.

She hopes that now she has broached the subject further discoveries of this kind will be made. This is the purpose of her attempts to preserve living-rooms photographically.

Some of these living-rooms are still in use much as they were back in the nineties. They have preserved their nineteenth century character against the onslaught of the technological age, but seem doomed to disappear before long. Dr Wirth already has plans to prevent their total loss.

The oldest pictures of "Berlin interiors" date back to Chodowlecki's day. But they are always filled with figurative motifs which were apparently considered more important.

The picture of a living-room without such figurative additions as an expression of the heart and soul of the person who lived there is a Biedermeier creation, never being repeated in such a way and to such an extent.

Eduard Gaertner proves to be Berlin's greatest master in this respect too, with his *Arbeitszimmer des Prinzen Karl von*

Preußen (The study of Prince Karl of Prussia), and his *Grünes Zimmer im Berliner Schloß* (Green Room at the Berlin Chateau).

There is also a copy of *Das Wohnzimmer des Schlossmeisters Hauschild* (Hauschild, the locksmith's, living room), which depicts family life.

There are numerous views of interiors of chateaux although the catalogue of the Berlin museum and also of this exhibition *Berliner Innenräume der Vergangenheit* (Berlin interiors of the past) concentrates more on the bourgeois and peasant aspects.

Views of chateau interiors are justified in this exhibition, however, in that the ruling princes, despite their superior position, generally lived in quarters that were styled on a normal middle-class home. Similarly the bourgeoisie took the royal houses as an example of how to live, and strove to mimic them as far as their funds would allow.

A copy of Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* looked down on the writing desk of Friedrich Wilhelm II and there was scarcely a middle-class home in which this

favourite of all paintings did not hang. They are still to be found in dark corners of antique dealers' shops covered in cobwebs.

The softness of the eighteenth century gave way, it seems, to the more resolute spirit of the nineteenth century.

Blue paint on walls blared like a kind of fanfare. Red was about as popular as a colour for walls, but the most common colour of all was green.

It appears time and time again in chair covers and other decorating materials and most of all in the natural colouring of indoor plants.

Green, it should be remembered, is the colour of hope, reconciliation and harmony.

Bedrooms are very rarely depicted. When they are the bed is, generally speaking, hidden or partially hidden behind curtains or a screen or arras. In the Biedermeier days it was only the living-room and parlour that the people wanted to preserve for posterity in picture form.

A writing desk or bureau was always the centrepiece and *feste Burg*. This was the room where the virtuous family lived its virtuous life. Here the middle-classes conversed with their friends and the musicians of the family showed their paces.

What was it that destroyed this world? Was it the revolutions, or the wars that

Continued on page 7

DIE WELT

EDUCATION

Female students' status improves

GIRLS DISCONTINUE STUDIES BECAUSE OF DISCRIMINATION



For the third time in fifteen years there has been a survey in Tübingen on the social role of the female student. The first survey conducted by professors in the mid-fifties revealed the pitiful fact that 64 per cent of all lecturers were against girls attending courses of study and believed that females only studied to get their man.

They believed that girls had little success in solving scientific and academic problems and could compensate for their inferior intelligence only by working harder.

Women were also supposed to have no endurance, were expected to give up their studies as soon as they could get married and, if they did indeed finish their course, were thought of as comical figures in their future profession.

In his *University Problems*, published in Tübingen in 1960, H. Anger summed up the answers of this country's elite to the question of girl students: "We hear for example that purely intellectual ability is inferior or rarer in women, that abstract thought, or any thought at all, does not agree with them, that they lack critical ability, have too little ingenuity, fewer brainwaves, a sorry intellectual imagination, they are less talented and moreover shier, not independent enough and blessed with less initiative."

All these are statements by academics and all lack scientific foundation. But they did have an effect. A few years later Hannelore Gerstein wrote her remarkable investigation *Girl Students*, published in Munich in 1965.

She claimed that the reason girls gave up their studies before the end of the course was mainly because of this discrimination which discouraged them.

When trying to settle in at university, girls always encountered the opposition of the actual "rulers" of this sphere. When they tried to succeed, men began to have great doubts about their femininity. And when they then became discouraged it was said that they had only considered study as a way to pass the time anyway.

"It can be quite unnerving when you have to prove your intellectual nature time and time again," said those who gave in. And, what's worse, they submitted and kept silent.

Now a third survey has been made on this subject. This latest investigation shows a change in the most common opinions.

Professor Bernhard Kraak gathered together a number of his students into a working group to discuss the problems of a female student's social role.

He admits that some reservations must be made because the investigators were unskilled students. But he does establish that emancipation is progressing. "The traditional division of roles is losing its power," he says.

In other words, female students today feel themselves equal to their male counterparts.

The Tübingen professors interviewed said that female students studied for the same reasons as males. The silly idea that they were there to look for men just did not occur any more.

But this picture is spoiled by individual details. The professors state that males and females have the same opportunities to study but believe that there are typical male and female occupations because of what they call the differing nature of the sexes.

They associate women with professions calling upon their traditional image of nursing and taking care of people. A

children's doctor or a teacher are just two of these.

Almost half the professors interviewed still believe that the talents of the sexes differ. Men are more inclined to creative thought, they claim, while women work harder, have a better memory and are adaptable. The old idea of women's role can still be found today.

The whole image has established itself so well that even female students believe in it today. The male view of women cannot think logically is considered by girls to be true and not dismissed as prejudice.

The old conflict between marriage and profession is as live as ever. Most female students experience the clash of private life and education while still studying. They do not harbour any illusions that this will improve when they have ended their studies and become wives of mothers.

Because of this they lack the determination to bring their course of study to a successful conclusion.

Renate Röder

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 September 1970)

Sixth-form workshop gives study guidance to future students

What is a sixth-form workshop? It is not, as you might think from the name, a workshop where sixth-formers can do manual work as a counterweight to their intellectual activities. Nor is it a workshop that produces sixth-formers.

Instead it is part of a unique experiment in Kaiserslautern that gives extensive, intensive and early career and study guidance to sixth-formers.

There and in the neighbourhood of the town the proportion of high-school pupils living on farms and in villages is extremely high.

Early individual guidance seems to be more necessary here than elsewhere because of the remoteness, both as regards distance and attitude, to university and career training.

Inspired by the study guidance given to sixth-formers in Munich by the University Association based in Heidelberg, the Kaiserslautern-based Georg Meißner Pfaff Memorial Foundation decided to start study guidance service in the Palatinate.

This was planned to be something more than the usual guidance given by labour exchanges or that given by the Munich scheme.

After negotiations with the University Association, "Study Guidance 1970" was set up. The labour exchange, the night school and high school headmasters were to take part in this. Teachers and pupils could then be included.

The Foundation supplies money and active cooperation, the University Association provides staff, the night school the accommodation and the labour exchange does all it can to coordinate its usual informational services into this preparation for studies.

The scheme started this spring with a questionnaire. Answers would show the organisers what they had to concentrate on. Although all the details have not yet been evaluated, the answers in which sixth-formers frankly admitted their worries gave the organisers sufficient material to make a start.

Before the school year had ended the usual lectures on various careers, on general university matters and courses of study had been supplemented by private conversations in groups or alone.

It was good to see that teachers and students from neighbouring universities had agreed to come along and discuss the problems.

The sixth-form workshop was set up at the beginning of the summer holidays. A restricted number of sixth-formers were

given the provision of information and building up archives which are to serve as the basis for a much wider and more thorough supply of information and guidance.

The workshop, supplied by the night school, contains typewriters, paper, file cupboards, the rudiments of a library and tape recorder to store spoken information.

Directed and guided by members of the Foundation and the University Association, the sixth-formers draw up their plan of action and supply information on courses of study, opportunities for study, career prospects, restrictions on admission and the staffing of the various subjects at the universities.

Every person on the project was offered expenses of one hundred Marks to travel to a university of his choice, gather information from the horse's mouth and attend a number of lectures. Reports of these visits are now included in the archives.

Every member of the workshop was able to receive a grant that could be from 300 to 500 Marks in the second

month depending on the extent he made his work available to others.

Everyone was free to place most emphasis on his own interests or on helping build up the archives intended for future students too.

Normally half the working day in the workshop should be spent on archive work while the other half is free for private study. A further workshop of this type is planned for Kusel.

Naturally this year's batch of students had nearly all made their decisions at the start of Study Preparation 1970. They were able to confirm their plans and decide where they were to study.

They also know now what to expect during their studies and how to overcome the difficulties they could encounter in the first few weeks.

The final year pupils this school year who have already participated in the scheme last year will be able to make even better use of their time up to the school-leaving certificate. Younger pupils too will be allowed to participate in the scheme if they wish.

Brigitte Beer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 September 1970)

MEDICINE

Heart surgeons discuss pacemakers and arteriosclerosis in Karlsruhe



Few of the two hundred or so patients who were given heart transplants after the initial successes of this operation as still alive today.

Even the most experienced surgeons in the world have mainly stopped transplanting hearts until the results of animal experiments concerned with controlling the body's defence mechanisms in the field of immunology have been evaluated.

Less sensational, though far more impressive from the medical point of view, are the results of using pacemakers when the rhythm of the heart is disturbed and operating when coronary arteries are occluded.

Professor W.H. Hauss of Münster is one of the most important researchers into arteriosclerosis in the world. In a press conference at the recent 22nd Therapy Week in Karlsruhe he estimated that some 100,000 people owed their lives to a heart pacemaker.

Professor S. Effert of Aachen provided a living example when he introduced to the congress the "oldest" pacemaker patient in this country.

In 1960 this patient, then nineteen, had a serious accident on his motor cycle. Soon afterwards the cardiac rhythm was disturbed — his heart beat far too slowly.

After admission to the hospital where Professor Effert worked the young man was certified as clinically dead more than once — his heart several times stopped beating.

He was one of the first heart patients in this country to receive a pacemaker controlling, by means of electronic impulses, the beating of the heart.

The young man was previously a metalgrinder but after his operation, he was retrained as an electrician. He is now married and a father of two children, the elder of which has just started school.

Effert referred to other cases to prove that this was nothing special in the field of medicine.

Several patients no longer feel encumbered by the heart pacemaker — and this can result in complications. There is danger of death when the electrode fed by a battery and leading to the heart comes loose and no longer dictates the rate of the heartbeats.

A 66-year old woman with a pacemaker celebrated at a local carnival so furiously that the electrode came loose. The rhythm of the heart was immediately affected.

A male patient who had also been fitted with a pacemaker decided one day to train with a punch ball. His electrode too came loose. He paid for his thoughtlessness with his life.

But these examples show the confidence regained by patients who would otherwise be moribund or dead. Of course they all realise that their life is dependent on the technical perfection of the pacemaker.

They know that the batteries supplying the power to the electrode controlling their heartbeat must be changed every two years if complications are not to set in.

Doctors are faced with a dilemma here. If they change the batteries before they have run out there is always the risk of complications. But if they wait until the battery is completely flat they would have to work under emergency conditions — this risk would be too great.

For this reason a technically perfect operation to fit the pacemaker is not enough. The patients themselves must be fully aware when they have to visit the hospital again. They are taught to judge the right time with a fair degree of certainty by measuring their own pulse.

Many pacemakers begin to race before the batteries go flat and the patient has palpitations. Other pacemakers slow down and the patient can tell this from his own pulsebeat.

Regular examinations in the hospital also show what condition the pacemaker is in. Accurate technical equipment controlled by technicians and not doctors supplies exact information on the state of the pacemaker. Professor Effert carries out these controls after six, twelve, fifteen and eighteen months.

Pacemakers that can be controlled by patients all depending on how they are feeling have not proved successful. Physical exertion must therefore be kept within limits as the heart always beats at the same rate. When patients with pacemakers are subject to emotional excitement their hearts do not beat faster.

Although Professor Hauss has described pacemaker treatment as the most fantastic thing he has seen in cardiology, arteriosclerosis still remains the main problem of modern medicine.

About fifty per cent of the population of highly developed States die of the results of arteriosclerosis, half of this figure of coronary sclerosis.

If one of the arteries supplying the heart with blood and oxygen occludes, the dreaded heart infarction can occur. Angina pectoris, a complaint accompanied by sharp pains in the heart region, is also caused by the insufficient supply of blood to the heart.

Today coronarographs give exact information on how much oxygen is getting through to the heart. An X-ray picture shows which artery is constricted or totally blocked and doctors can also tell whether this defect can be compensated by the collateral arteries.

P. Lichtlen of Zurich has taken coronarographs of over 500 patients. Although this procedure is not without its dangers he has lost only one patient.

As soon as it is known which coronary artery or arteries (it could be more than one) are constricted or blocked and no collateral arteries have developed, surgery is often the only solution.

Repair surgery has proved far superior

to heart transplants. Professor Ake Senning of Zurich replaces the blocked sections of the artery with veins transplanted from the patient's foot.

This process eliminates the dangers of a transplant being rejected as foreign tissue. It is not only the single veins that can be unblocked. Professor Senning has been able to reopen up to three coronary arteries successfully.

When it is considered how much patients suffer with chronic angina or after serious heart attacks, this operation seems well worth the risk.

When a blocked artery was bridged by a vein transplant from the patient's own body the death rate for the operation was four per cent. Six per cent died when two arteries were repaired but only three per cent when three had to be repaired.

There are many theories on the causes of arteriosclerosis, one of the curses of modern civilisation and a disease that will threaten the lives of one in two citizens of the Federal Republic.

Theorists' pet beliefs play a role here. Some attribute arteriosclerosis to smoking, others to the overnourishment usual today, stress in the sufferer's profession or lack of exercise. Professor Hauss has stressed that there must be more than one cause.

His colleague W. Oberwittler also had to admit that although heavy smokers were threatened by a heart attack, more non-smokers or occasional smokers died from this cause.

Professor Max Hallhuber of Bernried did however claim that well over ninety per cent of heart-attack sufferers under forty are heavy smokers.

People with high blood pressure also run the risk of suffering arteriosclerosis with all its dangerous consequences. High blood pressure also harms the heart when no arteriosclerosis has set in, Professor H. Losse of Münster said.

The connective tissue in the heart increases considerably in comparison with the muscular tissue until it reaches equal proportions. The heart then functions less efficiently.

On the other hand high blood pressure gives patients a period of grace. If they are treated soon enough with drugs to lower blood pressure, lasting damage can be avoided. But after ten to fifteen years arteriosclerosis can be expected.

Many strokes can be avoided when high blood pressure is treated early enough.

But eighty per cent of people suffering strokes have high blood pressure.

If their blood pressure is reduced slowly and early enough this serious complaint can often be avoided. If their blood pressure is reduced too quickly this can lead to an insufficient supply of blood to the brain, provoking a stroke.

How can this widespread complaint of arteriosclerosis be prevented? Doctors in Karlsruhe agreed that exercise and moderation in eating, drinking and smoking reduced the danger of heart attacks. But they were unable to agree as to what sort of dangers threatened what sort of people.

But some factors firmly established in our daily life do seem to encourage arteriosclerosis. These include excess weight, diabetes, smoking, physical laziness and high blood pressure.

At Professor Hauss' hospital in Münster experiments are being carried out to investigate other causes such as mucopolysaccharide and the glucuron acids, factors that affect the metabolism of connective tissue.

Today there are medicaments that reopen constricted or blocked arteries or create collateral arteries. Professor Hauss recommends the use of these in the long-term treatment of a patient's first stroke.

Gerhard Groll

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 September 1970)

New hope for sufferers of St Vitus Dance

Dr Heinrich Oepen, a lecturer at Marburg University's department of human genetics, has announced that newly discovered methods now enable doctors to give an early diagnosis of Huntington's chorea, the hereditary variety of St Vitus Dance.

By combining a biochemical stress test and a neurophysiological examination the initial symptoms of Huntington's chorea can be diagnosed as soon as the complaint begins.

Dr Oepen said that this was a valuable aid as the complaint could be arrested before more serious symptoms set in. Moreover, he said, there was now an opportunity for hormone-based treatment as well as the previous methods.

"This treatment has proved very effective on some cases," Dr Oepen added, but it still needed further development.

Huntington's chorea or hereditary St Vitus Dance occurs in six people out of 100,000 and is a model for other brain diseases and research into them.

This disease emanates in the main part of the human brain. The average age of sufferers is about forty and 45 but it also occurs in children and the elderly.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 September 1970)

Connective tissue — the body's unknown organ

young science. Its most recent phase really only started with the enormous advances in biochemistry and the invention of the electron microscope that gives researchers a closer look at the structure of the tissue.

Professor Hartmann named three "grandfathers" of empirical research — the Englishman Willies who used a microscope to discover the tissue's fibrous structure in 1673, Marie Francois Xavier Bichat whose study of tissues in the eighteenth century founded modern histology and the well-known Doctor Stromeyer of Hanover, the first man to operate on the Achilles tendon in the systematic treatment of a club foot. This operation took place in 1831.

The researchers present agreed unanimously that connective tissue should

be understood as an organ and, in fact, the most important one in the body.

Complaints linked with wasting and degeneration, that is structural changes in the arrangement of the carbon protein molecules that form the basic substance of connective tissue, are so numerous that it could almost be assumed that there were only tissue complaints.

Arteriosclerosis and other sclerosis, rheumatism, arthritis, cirrhosis of the liver and cancer itself can all be traced to abnormal changes in the tissue.

The physical and chemical processes occurring within the tissue are still largely unknown. Research in this branch must regard its primary function at present to be the expansion of the theory behind the subject so that the results will later prove useful to medical practice.

At present almost all treatment is based on an empirical foundation. This is all the more reason to devote far more attention to connective tissue, "the unknown organ."

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 September 1970)

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■ AGRICULTURE

Farmers must come out of their green ghettos

When Baron von Heerebeek became leader of the Federal Republic Farmers' Union it seemed as though we were on the verge of a new and better stage in farming policies and the status of those in the profession would be boosted.

There were a number of reasons for thinking this would be the case. Scarcely any president of the Farmers' Union had received so many laurels and such praise from public opinion as Baron von Heerebeek at his first press conference in Bonn.

However, the latest situation reports do indicate that many of our highest hopes that we would at last make a breakthrough to a new agricultural policy have not been fulfilled.

On the contrary the fight to improve the situation in the farming profession has led in many cases to the formation of green ghettos. The government's agricultural policy and the policies of the Farmers' Union are diametrically opposed. This reality is a great disappointment.

This outcome was discussed in the Bundestag in connection with the debate on Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl's agrarian programme.

Ertl's plans follow the lines that were originated by Hermann Höcherl and are designed to put this country's agriculture



on a firmer footing. They aim to differentiate between matters such as agricultural policies and social welfare policies and finally to throw the old-fashioned "watering can methods" out of the window. Rationalisation is the aim.

In future, operations will be conducted on three different levels. Every agricultural concern that wishes to claim subsidies from public funds must have a well-ordered bookkeeping system. It must have a comprehensive plan for future developments and must give guarantees that after a specified time a specified income will have been reached. This is one point.

Secondly, those farmers who do not fulfil these requirements will be given aid and advice to reorganise their holdings and those that prefer to offer their land to farmers who are making a go of it will be given the opportunity of retiring prematurely and drawing a sizeable pension.

Finally those who can see no hope of reorganising their holdings on their own will be given State subsidies. This is the concept of the Ertl plan.

The concept is a good and rational one. It could help to steer the Federal Republic from the agricultural doldrums. The fact that the Farmer's Union objects to Ertl's proposals is regrettable.

The demagogic reaction of the Bavarians may be tactics with the provincial assembly elections in mind. But the criticism has been similar among a number of local agricultural organisations.

There is a danger that the easiest paths to a rational settlement of the problem will be blocked. The Ministry of Agriculture is prepared to embark on down-to-earth talks about the state of affairs in Federal Republic farming today. Maybe one or two important factors have been

overlooked in Josef Ertl's proposals, but nothing that cannot be put to rights.

Unfortunately it seems that the Farmers' Union is using the Ertl programme as a scapegoat in order to organise general opposition to government plans.

Opposing agriculture plans is simple. It is easy to form the opposition argument since outsiders have great difficulty in understanding the state of affairs within farming.

The Farmers' Union has come out in opposition to all previous governments so the present situation is nothing new, or so it seems. In fact the situation is different this time. Now is the time when the way is being prepared to improve conditions on the land. But it is essential that everyone work towards the same ends.

It is no longer sufficient to make policies within the Association which pander to self-interest. It is remarkable that at a time when the Federal Republic Ralfessen (Farmers' credit cooperative) Association is breaking bounds and embarking on mergers with relatively small enterprises the farmers are withdrawing into their own little ghetto.

It is high time that it was generally realised that the welfare of farmers depends upon overall rural reforms. This is precisely what the Minister of Agriculture is trying to achieve. This should be accepted and the Minister should be given as much help and cooperation in his efforts as possible.

If, on the other hand, the agriculture policy turns out to be a class struggle, and the latest developments show that this is a possibility, it is the farmers who will suffer. For precisely this reason those responsible should agree to cooperate.

Certainly the government does not want to do this and therefore the farmers should show that they are ready to cooperate, not because it is for the good of the government, but because it is to their own advantage.

Antonius John
(Handelsblatt, 17 September 1970)

Cabora Bassa dam aid and foreign policy - Eppler

As far as the Cabora Bassa dam is concerned there is very little in the rules and regulations of development aid policies and foreign policies to prevent the deal.

Erhard Eppler mentioned the adverse effect on the relationship between the Federal Republic and several black African States that might result as the Africans may well see the dam as a bulwark of white domination in the south of Africa.

They regarded the grant of guaranteed credit as political support originating with the Portuguese government. "It was not a question of the bases of development aid, but an aspect of export guarantees that was tied up with foreign policy."

The arguments in favour of the dam were also somewhat misplaced according to Minister Eppler. It was important to ensure that "ideological argumentation" was not all-powerful when the decision was taken whether to grant guaranteed credit or not.

It was not a question of social order in a country concerned but the interests of the Federal Republic in Africa. No one in Bonn had it in mind to make the decision

Company status for farms

As a method of overcoming the tricky situation in which Federal Republic agriculture finds itself, the agriculture expert of the Christian Democratic Union in the state of Hesse, Richard Bayha, a prospective candidate for the provincial assembly, has suggested a form of co-operation that has so far only become common practice in industry, trade and commerce.

He has proposed that several farms could be amalgamated and made into limited companies.

Richard Bayha explained his ideas at a press conference held at his dairy farm in Altenhasslau, near Gelnhausen. He has his proposal on the consideration that the old-style farm run by a single peasant family was subjected to demands by society that undermined the dignity of the farmer and that this could not be justified in the light of the progress made in so many other professions.

A great advantage of merging farms into a *Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung*, as Herr Bayha sees it, would be that the people who work on the land could enjoy fairly regular working hours, have weekends off quite often and take summer holidays just like other workers.

If farmers clubbed together and cooperated in looking after the fields, sties and stalls it would be possible to create a fair division of labour. It would mean the end of the days when the family that worked the land had to be up at the crack of dawn, seven days a week and never got to bed till late.

More efficient working would almost certainly be the result.

The CDU agriculture expert has stated that he would be prepared to convert his farm, which is devoted entirely to dairy produce, into a *GmbH* (limited company).

He said that it would be necessary to abolish corporation tax and land taxes. "We could not exist otherwise," he added.

Defending his plan for turning farms into companies Herr Bayha said it was only a matter of time before this happened since so many young people were leaving the land and going to work in towns.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 September 1970)

■ BUILDING

Rising building costs stimulate pre-fabricated housing sales

Last year actual building costs for new semi-detached houses swallowed up 886 million Marks as opposed to 595 million Marks the year before. Other dwellings with accommodation for three or more families cost a further 591 million Marks. When all other types of building are added, offices, factories, schools and shops the total turnover in the pre-fabricated building industry amounted to 3.8 thousand million Marks, which is more than 700 million Marks up on 1968.

Sales of prefabricated houses rose in 1969 by almost forty per cent compared with the figure for 1968. In 1968 housing authorities gave their seal of approval to 7,300 buildings whereas last year the figure had risen to 10,150.

The housing magazine *Zuhause* commented: "These figures show that prefabrication as a building method is making great advances."

The expansion has continued this year. Akal, who claim to be the largest firm in the pre-fabricated housing business, state that their orders have risen by 39 per cent in the first half of 1970 and their production has almost doubled.

Mail-order giant Neckermann offers its customers sixty basic types of house, but when all slight variations are taken into account the figure is more like one thousand. These range from a weekend house or holiday chalet for 13,000 Marks to luxury homes costing up to 147,000 Marks. They hope to hand over 3,000 keys to new owners this year.

Latest figures show that Neckermann are likely to achieve this aim since in the

Five million homes to be built during next decade

In the next ten years five million new houses are to be built, according to the Minister of Housing, Dr Lauritz Lauritzen, outlining the government's long-term building plans at a meeting of the North German Society of Building Contractors in Grömitz, eastern Holstein.

Dr Lauritzen stated that it was the government's aim to build 500,000 new housing units each year for the next ten years.

According to the Minister each year 250,000 houses should be built for the subsidised housing programme alone.

In addition the government hopes to offer financial aid for the construction of 100,000 homes each year as part of a social welfare programme and a regional planning programme.

Apart from the construction of new accommodation the long-term building programme lays great emphasis on modernising existing accommodation. Dr Lauritzen stated that the government had budgeted 1.7 thousand million Marks for this programme up till 1974.

(DIE WELT, 8 September 1970)

first months of 1970 they completed 2,000 houses.

In 1969 Neckermann sold 1,650 pre-fabricated houses at a cost of 106 million Marks. This showed a large increase on 1968 when they only netted 52 million Marks for a total of 894 houses.

Dieter Mühlhausen, an executive of Okal, which has its headquarters in Lauenstein, estimated that in two or three years time one house in six is likely to be pre-fabricated.

A number of building contractors have in recent times joined the pre-fabrication business. Dr Lauritz Lauritzen, Minister of Housing, said: "Highly industrialised methods and a high level of productivity are essential if we are to keep rents and other burdens to a manageable level."

He like many others sees the solution to many problems in the building industry in the use of pre-fabricated parts. The magazine *Zuhause* writes, "With a shortage of labour pre-fabrication is bound to take an ever-increasing part in supplying homes."

Shrewd businessmen are taking advantage of a favourable situation. The Knödel group in Ölbronn (turnover in 1969 stood at 45 million Marks) plans to instal new plant and machinery worth ten million Marks in the next year. From 1974 onwards the Ölbronn factory hopes to achieve a per capita output of 120,000 Marks. Their present figure for output per head is 75,000 Marks which is still far higher than the general average for the building trade which stands at around 33,000 Marks. At their Ölbronn factory Knödel are hoping for a turnover of 120 million Marks within four years.

Okal, which previously had five factories in operation and a turnover of 145 million Marks in its pre-fabricated building department, is rapidly constructing a new factory in Bavaria to increase its output capacity and cut down delivery dates of between ten and twelve months.

Many firms have already made considerable extensions to their factories and output in the last few years, as for example the Philipp Holzmann group which can pre-fabricate 2,000 houses per year and Bayerische Fertighaus who enlarged their factories by over 3,000 square yards in 1969.

However, relatively few construction companies are taking full advantage of this expanding market. Estimates of the number of firms pre-fabricating parts for housing and industrial buildings vary from between one hundred and five hundred.

However many deal in pre-fabrication only thirty have any great significance in this sphere of the building industry, which is very few when it is considered that there are in all 65,000 construction companies in the Federal Republic, of which 48,000 employ twenty or fewer workers and staff.

There are several reasons for the building trade's reluctance to take the plunge into pre-fabrication:

The economic boom has been giving

even the smaller building companies ample income and employment.

If times become harder most firms will not have sufficient investment capital for converting to new methods of production. According to estimates plant for producing a yearly output of 1,000 housing units costs 15 million Marks. Installation costs are higher than in more traditional building methods and in addition long-term production planning is not always possible.

More advantageous costs as compared with more traditional construction methods are not necessarily guaranteed since the relevant laws are a mish-mash, architects have a mind of their own and building contractors who set great store by individuality are opposed to excessive mass production.

He who wishes to build nowadays must pay heed to 23 laws, regulations and statutes. In addition there are often bylaws affecting building which ask the impossible. In some cases these make provisions such as: the roof of a house must be set at an angle of 43.5 degrees, and that chimneys should be as near as possible to the ridge at the top of a roof.

According to Herr Mühlhausen of Okal regional regulations and local bylaws are "the original sin with which we have to come to terms."

For the past 18 months or so an institute for building techniques has been commissioned by the Federal states and the central government to study the technical requirements of building but as far as the lawmakers are concerned there are still many points to be put to rights.

Another problem for building firms is the dogmatism of architects and designers who do not make sufficient provision in their designs for the specific benefits of pre-fabrication even through pre-fabrication does not amount to monotony, as is often stressed.

The magazine *Zuhause* claims: "If the building trade is to take advantage of methods of rationalisation to bring down its costs as has been done in the motor trade it will be essential for greater standardisation to be introduced."

This obviously goes against the intentions of the architect who likes to look on his work as a work of art and the contractor who does not want a series of stereotyped houses.

The advantages of mass production for costs can only be realised when architects and large contractors and building firms agree on a few standards common throughout the country which can be



Assembly of the sections for the pre-fabricated house 'fg 2000'

produced in building throughout the country untrammelled by the whims of legislators. This is possible as has been proved by *Neue Heimat*, which works in close cooperation with building firms on planning projects, develops systems of standardisation and helps put them into practice and, according to its chairman in North Rhine-Westphalia, Friedrich Riegers, manages to cut costs by ten to fifteen per cent as compared with normal building methods.

The pettyfogging whims of the authorities, and the reservations of contractors and architects are extensively responsible for the fact that pre-fabricated houses are not at present much cheaper than traditional brick and mortar constructions.

The firms that construct them say that the very opposite is true. But an actual comparison of prices is only possible in individual cases.

The state of the market allows constructors of pre-fabricated houses to keep their prices fairly high. Since the future state of demand is uncertain and the depreciation arising could be quite steep building firms are having to incorporate fall-safe methods into their calculations.

According to Siegfried Wagner, head of a study group of pre-fabricated building, the greatest advantage of pre-fabrication is on the financing side since the relatively shorter time it takes to construct a pre-fabricated house means that less capital is needed and fewer labourers are required on a long-term basis than in traditional building methods.

The distrust that people felt for the solidity of pre-fabricated houses in the past is gradually dwindling. Forty-four per cent of all families with incomes of more than 950 Marks per month that want a home of their own prefer pre-fabricated buildings to conventional houses according to a market research institute in Hamburg.

A situation report on the exhibition which ended on 20 September confirms that there is a growing trust among a broader section of the public for pre-fabrication. Since the exhibition in the new town of Wulfen opened on 15 May 220,000 people have visited the open-air site. Three quarters of the houses have already been sold. Eight had been sold three days after the exhibition opened.

Werner Bankhoff

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Wolfgang Fieberbach's pre-fabricated house 'fg 2000' (Photos: Wolfgang Fieberbach)